15 cents
NATIONAL
GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

VOL. 10, NO. 31 NEW YORK, MAY 19, 1958

IMPACT ON SUMMIT ANALYZED

No socialist world break seen despite harsh war of words

By Kumar Goshal

EVENTS IN BOTH the West and the East piled up in such profusion last week that the public was in danger of losing sight of the woods for the trees.

In the West, the foreign ministers of the 15 North Atlantic Treaty Organization members gathered in Copenhagen for the annual NATO Council meeting. Major subject was the response to the insistent Soviet proposal for a summit conference.

The Council's final communique May 7 seemed to speak in close harmony, with Secy. of State Dulles sounding the key. It said that "summit meetings are desirable if they offer prospects of reaching settlements on important questions." It expressed the hope that the Soviet Union would be willing to start "expert technical discussions . . . on detailed measures" to detect nuclear explosions and to prevent surprise attacks. It insisted that "the German problem" and "controlled disarmament" be included in the summit agenda.

OTHERS WANT IN: Behind the harmonious facade, there were deep differences. Some members favored breaking up the U.S. disarmament package that has in the past blocked an East-West understanding. They wanted especially to separate controlled nuclear test suspension from halting nuclear production. Britain and France were reluctant to give up tests.

The U.S. was opposed to including Poland and Czechoslovakia at any point in the negotiations with the Soviet Union, on the grounds that only those with something important to contribute should participate. Yet Poland had obviously something important to contribute through the Rapacki plan for a nuclear-free Central European zone. Italy also was anxious to be counted in. As a compromise, the U.S., Britain and France in a joint statement said that the eventual top-level meeting might include other countries. The general feeling in Washington was that world opinion would push the powers to the summit some time before the end of the year.

IDEOLOGICAL WAR: Before the week was out, the summit issue was overshadowed by events in the East, where the Belgrade-Moscow ideological war flared anew, with Peking joining the fray.

On May 7, Peking's **People's Daily** published a harsh attack on the Yugoslav Communist League's draft program. **Pravda** reprinted it the following day.

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34,000,000 In Japan Signed An Anti-Bomb Plea!
STOP THE BOMB TESTS

IT WAS A BEAUTIFUL DAY TO PARADE FOR PEACE IN SAN FRANCISCO
So 400 students from colleges in the Bay area, and parents with children, did just that. They met in Union Square and marched out to Golden Gate Av., and there were no incidents to mar the march. Try it in your own town; it's the thing to do these awakening days.

CONTEMPT OF COURT VERSUS CONTEMPT OF GOD

Coast Guard blockades the Golden Rule

A COAST GUARD PATROL boat last week blockaded the slip in a Honolulu yacht basin where the Golden Rule was moored. The little ketch, fully provisioned for the run into the danger zone of the U.S. nuclear testing ground in the Pacific, could sail no more than a few feet without ramming into the Coast Guard cutter.

The Golden Rule, which has become the symbol of conscientious opposition to nuclear testing and war preparations, had put into Honolulu for water and provisions, on its way to the proving grounds to protest, or if possible to stop, the tests. The Atomic Energy Commission had issued new regulations while the vessel was on the high seas, banning all unauthorized Americans from the test area.

In Hawaii a Federal judge granted an injunction forbidding the Golden Rule to sail. The four crew members went directly from the courtroom to their ship and cast off. They were turned back and placed under arrest. After six days in Honolulu's 101-year old city jail they were tried for contempt of court and convicted on May 7. Judge Jon Wiig sentenced them to 60 days in jail, then suspended sentence but placed them on probation for one year.

THE GREAT TRADITION: In court Albert S. Bigelow, skipper of the Golden Rule, said: "It would have been contempt of God—the highest authority—if I hadn't done my best to stop these atrocities [the bomb tests]. They are contemptuous crimes against all mankind—a gross evil." Crewman George Willoughby said: "In refusing to consent to an immoral law I am acting in the great tradition of such men as Jesus, William Penn, Henry Thoreau and Gandhi. I know that others will walk this road with me."

The other crewmen, William Huntington and Orion Sherwood, made similar statements. All refused to sign the terms of probation. Bigelow, speaking for them all, said: "The effect of probation can be to imprison or try to imprison my conscience for a year. No man or institution can imprison my conscience." Legal steps were under way to contest the probation

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NOBODY'S FOR HIM BUT THE VOTERS

Behind the attack on Rep. Powell

By Louis E. Burnham

IT WOULD SEEM there's nobody in Adam Clayton Powell's corner but the voters of Harlem's 16th Congressional District. And they are there even though they do not support everything the volatile Congressman has done in 17 years of public office. Powell has an uncanny faculty for making his most fervent followers unhappy some of the time. But whopping majorities in one successful campaign for the N.Y. City Council and seven for the House of Representatives show that they prefer a fiery, though unpredictable, crusader to a tame Tammany hack.

Powell is a political roamer. He has never found a home in which he didn't make life difficult for the party housekeepers. In 1944 he became the first Negro Congressman from the East on the strength of the Republican, Democratic and American Labor Party designations. Two years later the Republicans ended their flirtation with the militant minister.

In 1950 he bowed to the edict of Tammany boss Carmine G. DeSapio and quit the ALP. Since then he has been a free-wheeling Democrat, using his base in the 10,000-member Abyssinian Baptist Church, of which he is minister, and his personal political machinery, the People's Committee and the Greater New York Leadership Council, to wrest

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FREE THE GOLDEN RULE CREW
NUCLEAR TESTS

WASHINGTON PICKET LINE
Outside the AEC offices

THE MAIL BAG

Praise for Perlo

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

The socio-economic evaluation of the present crisis by Victor Perlo was the most all-inclusive survey I have read so far. With automation displacing workers in the Free World, unemployment is bound to increase—unless one still believes in competition as a cooperative way of life. We have subsidized our profit-motivated allies into competitors that can undersell us in every category. And this was done all under the guise of fighting communism. It looks like we created our own Frankenstein monster.

Art Walker

Thrift now un-American

BALTIMORE, MD.

It seems to me that, what with all the defenders of the economy urging us to buy more, some enterprising cartoonist should draw a picture of the Eisenhower crowd chiding Ben Franklin ("A penny saved is a penny earned") for his un-American rantings. **A. Robert Kaufman**

Surplus and suicide

RICHLAND, N. Y.

I have noticed at least two suicides recently, directly traceable to "No job, no money." Perhaps the regulation concerning the distribution of surplus food may increase suicide. A man and wife (if they are lucky enough to live where it is distributed and find an official who is willing to act) have to wait from two to three months depending on the time they put in their application. Then every two months they get an order. After two orders they must apply again.

Just what help will this give a man who is unemployed, whose compensation has run out or has a family and no money? There shouldn't be a waiting period. Secy. Benson should change these rules.

Paul Hamilton

Play the game

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Ike says a duffers' golfing
bout
Would surely ease world
tension;
A ping-pong match, there is
no doubt
Could settle Test Suspension.
Perhaps a game of dominoes
Can overcome oppression
And then some friendly
tick-tack-toes
Will solve this here recession.

John Nople

That's an order!

KANSAS CITY, MO.

I, an American, hear my neighbors. I may have rights to my ritual, but my neighbor has an unqualified right to his life.

I, an American, am responsible for Nagasaki. I am responsible for Hiroshima. I am responsible for the Lucky Dragon. I am responsible for nearly two-thirds of all atomic tests made in this world to April 1, 1958. I am responsible for the death of perhaps about two-thirds of a million human persons, dead now and already doomed by my hand to untimely death in the future.

I, a human, forego further orgiastic ritual. I, a human, say to the world's monstrous military mind, "Stop now, Murderer. One million human lives is enough." **James E. Amick**

Even-Steven

PORTLAND, ORE.

All humanity is deeply indebted to those who are bringing the suits to stop the testing of nuclear bombs. Since our government will furnish the legal defense of those against whom the suit in this country has been brought, every taxpayer is in effect compelled to contribute to opposing this effort to stop the nuclear bomb tests. This places those who oppose the tests in a very undesirable position. The way I have met the dilemma is to send to the plaintiffs, to help them in the prosecution of their suit, more money than the share of my taxes that will be applied to the defense.

Alan M. MacEwan

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

The U.S. Pavilion's art show at the Brussel's Fair is limited to the work of artists under 45. The officials feared that an artist over 45 probably would have a leftist record.

Leonard Lyons
in N.Y. **Post**, May 5

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: Augusta Warshaw, New York.

In the Diamond Circle

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Footnote to your 'Spectator' review of the Moiseyev dancers:

During the intermission, I overheard a tuxedoed gentleman commenting to his decolleted, be-stoled wife: "There seems to be such a healthy, direct relationship between the male and female dancers. Do you think it's because—well, because the women aren't dependent?"

His wife nodded vociferously.

..**Eve Merriam**

Out of jeopardy

SEATTLE, WASH.

In the spring of 1954 a number of people came to my assistance in response to an advertisement in the GUARDIAN. I had asked for financial help to pay the legal expenses of a contempt citation carrying a three-year sentence. During the Seattle Smith Act trial, while appearing as a witness, I had refused to name colleagues in the Communist Party.

The Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals has just reversed the action of the lower court. I am now out of jeopardy.

I want to thank the GUARDIAN readers who came to my assistance at a time when progressive action was particularly hazardous.

Herbert J. Phillips

Technical error

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

When that man was deported all the way to Finland and was then returned all the way back to the U. S., folks were shocked at the loss to the U. S. in money. I wonder if they were equally shocked at the loss to the U. S. in due process and prestige. The incident occurred because of what the Commissioner of Immigration termed "a "technical error." Technical errors can be awfully dangerous with so many H-bombs, guided missiles and immigration commissioners around.

Haakon H. Hynek

Help yourself

SEATTLE, WASH.

Along with the unions and political parties, you are not up with the times.

In view of our modern machine age, mass production and surplus in our country, why not help build up the morale of the American workers by giving them direct statements of what they should have and could have, right now. When we have—and we do have!—plenty for all, there is no need for cheating and stealing from each other.

(Mrs.) **Josephine Stephens**

Farmers' dilemma

CHICAGO, ILL.

The small farmer is being forced off the land and converted into a wage worker in large scale industry, when at the same time large scale industry is rapidly becoming automated so that fewer and fewer wage workers are required to carry on production.

It is reported that South Works of the U. S. Steel Corp., in South Chicago, will now require only 11,000 workers at full capacity. Less than two years ago, at least 15,000 were engaged at South Works of U.S. Steel.

..**John D. Reinke**

Films of U.S.S.R.

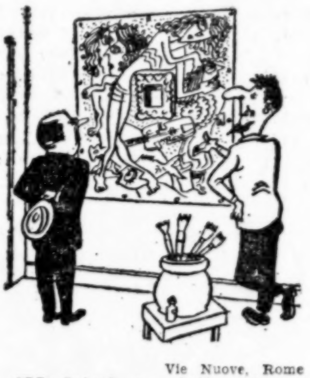
ADA, O.

Recently I saw some of the color movies and slides made in the U.S.S.R. last summer by Mr. and Mrs. Elmer McClain, of Lima, O.; they should be widely presented. The McClains were eight weeks in Russia; they traveled more than 16,000 miles by plane, train, bus, taxi, boat and afoot. They photographed the opening of the Youth Festival, the Agricultural Exposition in Moscow and visited Mosfilm studios and saw Padmini, the noted Indian dancer, making the film "Afinasi Nikitum," a joint U.S.S.R.-Indian production.

They then traveled east and south into Siberia. In all, they visited several factories, 14 farms and 22 cities. By boat they filmed the Volga River life en route to restored Stalingrad.

Their record is next best to a visit to Russia. They are presenting their program and can be reached for engagements at R.F.D. No. 6, Lima, Ohio.

Jack Runser



Vie Nuove, Rome

"My latest—a painting that frames a frame!"

Profits in steel

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

The U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly, under Sen. Kefauver, recently published report No. 1387 on **Administered Prices in the Steel Industry** which showed that prices of steel have moved steadily upward during the past ten years, regardless of whether sales were increasing or declining. The report also showed that the profit rate in the steel industry following the wage increase of 1956 exceeded the increased labor costs.

Under these conditions, the steel industry's profit rate is open to serious question. A pamphlet entitled **Who Profits from Profits?** is now being circulated here among industrial employes. It is signed by Roger M. Blough, chairman of U.S. Steel, although his position is not stated. Far from attempting to answer the questions raised by the Kefauver Subcommittee regarding steel's profits, Mr. Blough starts by imputing such questions to alien and Communist propaganda.

A chart captioned "One Company's Distribution of Every $1 of Profit," presumably for U.S. Steel, actually refers to $1 of sales and gives an erroneous impression of the firm's return on its investment. Mr. Blough concludes by imputing a desire to destroy profits to his opponents—Sen. Kefauver had merely questioned their rate and distribution. A final cartoon in Mr. Blough's pamphlet suggests mob action against those who question steel's profit distribution pattern. **Name Withheld**

NATIONAL
GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 197 E. 4th St., N.Y. 9, N.Y. Telephone: ORegon 3-3800

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U. S. & possessions, Canada, Latin America, Philippine Islands, $5 a year. First class and air mail on request. United Kingdom 35s a year payable to GUARDIAN London Bureau, 16 Talbot Sq., London W2, England; otherwise $6 a year overseas. GUARDIAN Paris Bureau, 103, avenue de Gravelle, St. Maurice (Seine), France. Single copies 15c. Re-entered as second class matter Feb. 20, 1953, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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Vol. 10, No. 31 401 May 19, 1958

REPORT TO READERS

Paul comes home

THE INCOMPARABLE PAUL ROBESON returned to Carnegie Hall May 9 after an absence of eleven years. The 2,700-seat house, with its five tiers of seats facing a stage which is the Mecca of concert artists the nation over, was filled to capacity with 100 officially admitted standees, and nobody knows how many more who filtered in during intermissions. A squad of 20 policemen ranged outside the hall but there was nothing to engage them but the rapture of the concert-goers, so they departed when the concert got under way.

The concert was sold out ten days to two weeks in advance. Aside from a Bronx organization which bought 100 seats, the general public gobbled up the rest. That they were Paul Robeson's public was evident from the reception he got. A good half the audience, perhaps more, rose when he came on the stage—and rising in your seat in the upper tiers is a chancy proposition.

The welcoming applause was deafening, ending only when the singer ended it by his familiar method of applauding back to the audience. (A full week before the May 9 concert, when it was completely sold out, the singer's agents announced a second concert on May 23. At this writing, 2,000 requests for tickets had been received by mail at the Carnegie Hall box office. Plans for a third concert, in June, had to be shelved because of the singer's out-of-town commitments that month.)

THE MAJOR N.Y. NEWSPAPER music critics were deeply respectful and one sensed in their notices a warmth of welcome too. The **Times** man saw Robeson as "an imposing figure with tremendous dignity," whose voice "occasionally showed the mellowness and depth that he possessed a generation ago."

But it was more than an evening of singing. The artist was so at home with his audience that it was more like an evening in the living room. There were interpolations of explanation of some of the selections, of the kinship between the music of Africa and China, for example; there was a bit of banter here and there, much humor and moments of splendor that words cannot describe.

And he let us sing with him, too, not once but two or three times—**Jacob's Ladder**, **John Brown's Body**, and, whether he invited it or not, **Joe Hill**. He included the final speech from **Othello**, whom he portrayed memorably on the Broadway stage 13 years ago.

The **Herald Tribune** writer called it an evening of "simplicity and sincerity" and, like his colleagues, was deeply impressed with the artist's facility in so many languages. He spoke or sang in Yiddish, Russian, Czechoslovakian, Hebrew, Chinese and in several African dialects as well as in English.

The **Post**'s Harriet Johnson found his "genial personality and captivating smile, magnetic as ever" but his **Ol' Man River** not quite like the old days, although his voice was still "rich and voluminous." She made a special note of the fact that when in his final speech he stated that "I hope to sing in many other lands," the applause was deafening.

The **World-Telegram & Sun** reviewer found Robeson "a very fit and vigorous 60" and noted that, since the singer used amplification, "it is hard to say just how powerful and resonant his unaided voice still is."

"For a large part of last night's crowd," he wrote, "Paul Robeson was more than a folk singer, actor and commentator. He was obviously a symbol—and greeted as such."

PAUL ROBESON IS A SYMBOL, true. He is a symbol of the fight of the Negro people in America for equality; a symbol of the fight for peace and for freedom of all peoples from colonialism and exploitation; a symbol of humanity's struggle for dignity.

But Paul Robeson's triumphal return to the concert stage of our country is symbolic, too, of a changing outlook in the nation, encouraging new hope for peace and dignity and an end to destruction.

In the Author's Foreword to his book, **Here I Stand** (See P. 12), Robeson quotes a writer who said of him:

"By singing spirituals he can be popular and wealthy; by fighting for his race he becomes despised and doors are closed against him."

But now the doors are opening to him! The people are forcing their way to a beloved artist, beloved as well for his forthrightness in the struggle for truth and dignity as for his artistry.

"Let us think of the entire earth and pound the table with love!" he quoted from Neruda at one point. It was the keynote, as the N.Y. **Post** critic observed: "He was pounding the truth, as he saw it, through his own gifts."

And the audience pounded its applause for the truth, as they saw it, as well as for the great gifts of Paul Robeson.

—THE GUARDIAN

ONCE WE WERE GOOD NEIGHBORS

Nixon's tour exposes rifts in U.S.-Latin American ties

By Elmer Bendiner

FIFTEEN YEARS AGO, in the spring of 1943, the Vice President of the United States was in Lima, Peru. He rode in an open ceremonial coach drawn by four horses through five miles of streets in a shower of flowers and confetti. In front of the Presidential Palace 60,000 people gathered to cheer the Vice President's speech. They called out: "Viva Henry Wallace."

In Bogota, Colombia, thousands waited in the rain for him. In San Jose, Costa Rica, 10,000 children had been marshalled in a formal greeting but thousands of people broke through all police lines and swarmed around Wallace's car. He delighted Ecuadorian newsmen by touring Quito in shirt-sleeves and suspenders. In Santiago de Chile ten bands stationed themselves along the route of the Vice President's motorcade and played "The Stars and Stripes Forever" in a musical relay.

It was the middle of the war and Latin Americans looked to peace as to a new day. They cheered Wallace because he brought them messages like the one he delivered at the University of Guayaquil, Ecuador, in which he said that if "great fortunes for the privileged and misery and poverty for the people in general" continued after the war, then "this sacrifice will have been in vain."

ROCKS AND BOTTLES: Perhaps the memory of that unfulfilled pledge haunted those who this spring watched another Vice President travel the same route through Latin America. There were few flowers along Richard Nixon's path. Instead there were rocks, orange peels, eggs and empty bottles. The "viva's" were frequently drowned by catcalls. Nixon tried to debate with the students and mingle with the people as Wallace had done, but Nixon was no Wallace; the Roosevelt good-neighbor policy had gone down the drain; the anti-fascist fervor of the war had evaporated, and the U.S. was boasting of allies such as Franco, Batista and Trujillo. There was no promise of peace and plenty but instead, signs that the U.S. was exporting its depression south and threatening new tariff barriers to worsen the lot of nations still dependent on the U.S. economy.

As Nixon landed in Montevideo, Uruguay, at the end of April the government, frequently listed as pro-U.S., moved troops into the $7,000,000 packing plant of Armour & Co. The U.S. company had been locked in a bitter dispute with the government and was preparing to shut down when the plant was seized. The company had already laid off 6,500 workers and sympathy strikes were spreading.

THE BAG OF WIND: Even without the Armour crisis Uruguays' economic troubles, traceable to Washington policies, would have stirred a stormy reception for Nixon. In seven years Uruguay's exports to the U.S. have dropped from $129,000,000 to $12,000,000, while its imports from the U.S. have risen from $32,000,000 to $55,000,000. Nixon spoke disarmingly to Uruguayan officials about keeping open "the channels of trade" but the talk seemed mere wind as long as U.S. tariffs keep Uruguay's wool from the U.S. market.

Unemployment and sky-rocketing prices worried Uruguayans and the worries were expressed in jeers of "Get Out, Nixon" as his car toured the streets.

In Buenos Aires placards greeted the Vice President: "Argentina is free—go home, Nixon." He met with students in a man-to-man chat but in the end had to throw up his hands and say: "We can sit here all morning with you saying we did intervene in Guatemala, and me saying we did not, without solving anything."

A BIT MORE CAUTION: In private conferences he told Argentines they could expect no loans for oil development as long as oil was nationalized, but indicated that there might be loop-holes through which U. S. companies could find their way to the untapped oil of Argentina. He was to have been the star diplomatic guest at the inauguration of President Arturo Frondizi, but even that plan fizzled when his car was held up in traffic and he arrived late.

LATINS OFFERED FRUIT TO HENRY WALLACE
But they threw it at Richard Nixon

In Uruguay and Argentina Nixon had spoken out against dictatorships; but in Paraguay, driven to ruin under the dictatorship of Alfredo Stroessner, Nixon "spoke cautiously in his public utterings" as the N.Y. **Times** put it. While Nixon was speaking in Asuncion an 18-year-old student shouted: "Long live freedom and democracy." Paraguayan secret police led him off. They tried to arrest a U.S. photographer who caught the scene but let him go in deference to Nixon. Paraguayans tried to hand Nixon and his wife petitions detailing the crimes of the regime but the most they could do was to give them to reporters covering the Vice President's trip.

DISASTER IN PERU: Bolivian students and labor leaders told Nixon that U.S. aid had been doled out on "humiliating" terms. Nixon told them only that he was glad to see such vigorous discussion and that it could not happen behind the iron curtain. When he said that Hungarians had tried to protest and everyone saw what happened, a voice from the rear asked: "What about Negroes in the South?"

The road had been rough up to Lima, Peru. There it led to disaster. Peru, too, had been hard hit by the slump creeping down from the north and it feared even worse days as reports from Washington forecast tariffs on lead and zinc which could plunge Peru into a crisis. Moreover Peru had just had its first free election in decades and there were bitter memories of Washington's support for the Odria dictatorship that had previously saddled the country.

STONY SILENCE: Before the Bolivar hotel, where the Nixons stayed, students picketed, shouting: "Peru yes—Nixon no." On the morning of May 8 Nixon and his party walked across the plaza outside the hotel and laid a wreath on the statue of San Martin, the national hero. A crowd of 50 watched him silently. He waved and shouted: "Viva Peru," but failed to shake the stony silence. Shortly afterward someone ripped from the wreath the flowers that formed a U.S. flag. Nixon entered his red-and-white Edsel convertible and drove to San Marcos University.

A crowd of more than 2,000 met him at the University gates with placards reading: "Oust Nixon" and "Nixon, go home." He raised his fists and mounted the trunk of his car, shouting: "I'll be glad to go home but don't you want the truth?" The students shouted back: "Nixon, go home." Rocks then began to pelt Nixon's party. One grazed his neck and another chipped a tooth of a Secret Service guard. Nixon grabbed one demonstrator and asked him if he was a student. The man shook his head non-committally.

POLITE BUT SHARP: His next stop was the Catholic University where the reception was more polite but the questions had the familiar sharpness, such as: "Why do you support Batista?" Nixon's invariable answer: The U.S. does not intervene. On Guatemala he denied intervention.

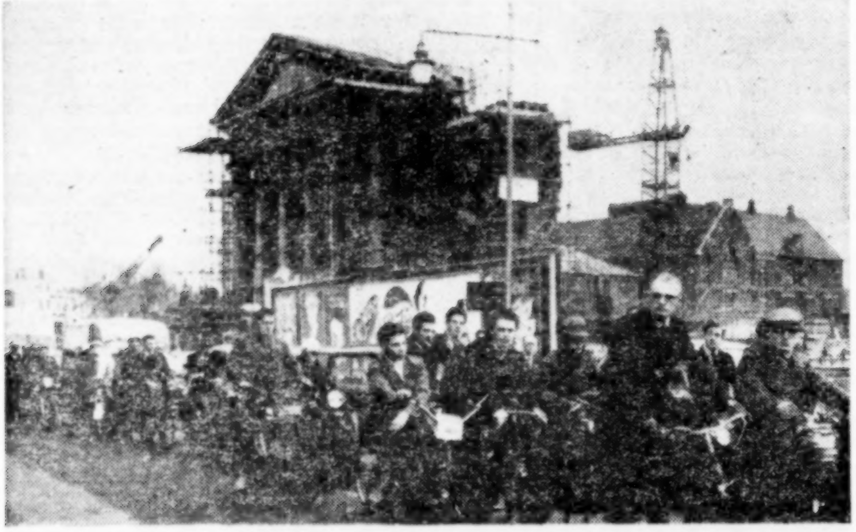
When his motorcade neared the hotel he saw that another crowd had gathered. He got out and walked three blocks under a barrage of bottles, fruit and eggs. Some demonstrators spat in his face.

His aides announced that there would be no conferences with students in Ecuador, his next stop, and perhaps none in Venezuela where students reportedly had been preparing similar receptions. U.S. reporters traveling with Nixon identified all the stone-throwers, fruit flingers and leaflet writers as "communists" but Sen. John Sherman Cooper (R-Ky.) said: "This is more than just a communist show. I think it represents some deep-seated grievances." A full-scale review of Latin-American policies was expected.

The embattled Vice President had one consolation: Pat Nixon, who from her fourth floor hotel window had seen her husband walk through the shower of stale fruit, said: "I was so proud of Dick, I could bust."

LONDONERS TAKE TO THEIR BIKES IN STRIKE

British labor faces showdown with Conservatives



Special to the Guardian

LONDON

THE STREETS OF LONDON, normally jammed with buses, were crowded with bike riders (above) and suburban cars as the bus strike held firm after more than a week. Londoners were getting around by foot and in bursting subway trains but, at GUARDIAN press time, there was a strong likelihood that the railwaymen would go out too—perhaps in a nationwide strike.

Support for the busmen was coming in from all over the country and the situation became even more critical for the government when London meat workers struck on May 11 for a 15% raise. Supplies were stopped in the London area. The engineers' confederation decided to seek raises for their 3,000,000 members, and South Wales miners pressed for an all-around wage increase.

TORY TACTICS: The government's strategy seemed clear: it was to force a showdown with the busmen, whose strike is least critical to the economy and most likely to arouse public antagonism. It was believed ready, in the event the railwaymen went out, to call out the army in a "national emergency." It also was reported as having an eye on a quick election if they could win public support against the labor movement. Meanwhile the electoral tide still ran strongly against them, Labor scoring 295 net gains so far in the municipal elections. (Communists scored three net gains, retained four seats in results published May 5-6).

A TOUGH MOOD: Among rank-and-file workers the mood was generally tough. Railwaymen were bitterly determined to win a raise without the large-scale cuts and firings on which the government said it must be conditional. On Britain's nationalized, beaten-up railways top signalmen and locomotive engineers get just over $30 a week, and many workers take home less than $20. Almost the worst-paid workers in the country, the railwaymen were putting tremendous pressure on their leaders.

Bus drivers and conductors get $27 and $26.50 standard rate in London, less in the country. The buses were put under public ownership in 1933; since then former shareholders have received about $14 million every year. The busmen's total claim is for $3,800,000 a year; they were offered—and accepted, if the raises would be fairly distributed—$2,800,000. The government makes over $11 million a year out of the tax on gasoline used by buses, which run "at a loss."

In Parliament, the Conservatives were at their most intransigent, confirming the reported decision of a declaration of war on organized labor.

The effect of the world-wide recession was slowly but grimly showing itself in official unemployment figures, which rose to 440,000 in April.

W. G. BURCHETT WRITES FROM MOSCOW

Where Khrushschev stands in a changing Russia

In light of the speculation as to the reasons for the ideological dispute in the socialist world, the position of Premier Khrushchev is significant. The following dispatch from GUARDIAN correspondent Wilfred G. Burchett seeks to explain that position in the perspective of recent events in the Soviet Union.

By Wilfred G. Burchett
Guardian staff correspondent

MOSCOW

EVERY BIT OF EVIDENCE I can lay hands on points to this conclusion: Premier Khrushchev represents the progressive forces within the Communist Party who insist on things being done differently, on cutting away the old, dead wood left by a sort of sclerosis which set in during the latter years of Stalin's reign. There has been a desperate policy struggle going on since Stalin's death. And the "old guard," to which Khrushchev belongs in terms of age but not in outlook, have resisted changes which the younger forces demand.

It was not a knock-down, drag-out fight between Molotov and Khrushchev for personal power that took place in May and June, 1957. It was a struggle to determine whether things were to go along in the old way, or whether they were going to be done in a new way. The Molotov group was sure the old way was the right way, but the 20th Congress of the CP represented a new mood.

WHAT IT WAS ABOUT: The fight was over policies, not personalities.

- On internal affairs, it was the policy of attacking bureaucracy by dissolving many of the centralized economic ministries.
- On external affairs, it was the policy of tearing down the barriers which had isolated the Soviet Union for so long, admitting mistakes to the Yugoslav leaders, making personal contacts with leaders abroad.

These were the policies for which Khrushchev had a mandate from the 20th Congress and the Central Committee to carry out.

There are no signs that he wants to turn back. On the contrary, he has taken one breath-taking smack after another at the old order of things—all dictated by practical considerations of giving people more and better food, clothing and housing in a world at peace. On the home front there is no doubt that he is succeeding. Every visitor from abroad, if he has been here before, remarks on the substantial improvement in living standards.

SOURCE OF STRENGTH: Khrushchev could never have succeeded if he did not have the people on his side, the rank and file of the party and an impressive majority of the Central Committee. His position in the CP leadership rests on the solid results of what he has done—not on a repressive machine.

Khrushchev himself would be the first to deny that the "new" way of doing things represents a departure from Marxism-Leninism. And he would defend the "old" way, in general, as having been the inevitable way over a long period of Soviet history during wars and preparations for wars and reparation after wars. But the forces which initiated and approved the decisions of the 20th Congress felt the "old" way had persisted far longer than necessary and that some aspects were not only never necessary but regressive. Khrushchev is their champion.

Socialist word war

(Continued from Page 1)

The official Yugoslav party publication **Komunist** immediately proceeded to dissect the Chinese article. On May 9 **Pravda** made a direct editorial attack of its own.

Terming the Yugoslav draft program "an anti-Marxist-Leninist, out-and-out revisionist program," the **People's Daily** made the following points, among others:

- "The draft program substitutes sophistry for revolutionary materialistic dialectics, the reactionary theory of the state standing above classes for the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state, and reactionary bourgeois nationalism for revolutionary proletarian internationalism."
- "It takes up the cudgel for monopoly capital and tries to obliterate the fundamental differences between the capitalist and Socialist systems . . . smears the Socialist state and beatifies capitalism."
- "[It] describes the two radically different world politico-economic systems . . . as 'division of the world into two antagonistic military-political blocs' [and represents Yugoslavia as] standing outside the 'two blocs' of socialism and imperialism."

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- "These propositions cannot but call to mind the revisionist preaching about 'evolutionary socialism,' 'ultra-imperialism,' 'organized capitalism' and 'the peaceful growing of capitalism into socialism' made by right-wing Socialists in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, such as Bernstein, Kautsky, Hilferding and their ilk, which were intended to induce the working class . . . to give up revolutionary struggle for socialism and uphold bourgeois rule."

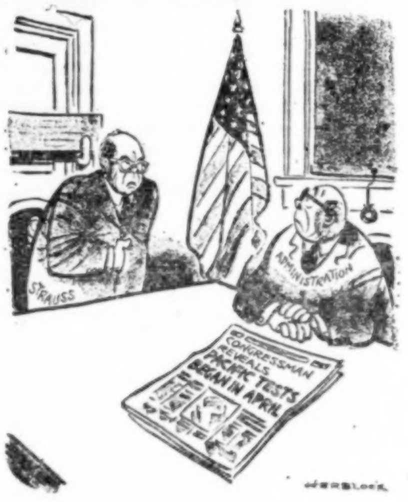
THE 1948 RESOLUTION: The Peking article said it considered "as basically correct" the June, 1948, Cominform criticism of the Yugoslav CP but felt the methods adopted by the Cominform to deal with the question were defective. It asked the Yugoslav CP leaders "to think soberly: Will the Yugoslav Communist League be able to maintain its solidarity with the Communist parties of other countries by abandoning the fundamental viewpoints of Marxist-Leninism and persisting in revisionist viewpoints?"

The Yugoslav reply noted that "the authors of the [Chinese] article, in the name of Chinese Internationalism, proclaim the policy of a Socialist country as Enemy No. 1"; present no "comradely discussion between two Communist parties" but pass "judgment without the right of defense . . . which somebody is expected unconditionally to implement."

"TRAGIC" FINISHES: Calling it an "interference in Yugoslavia's internal affairs," the Yugoslavs said "it is useful to mention that, while setting as their chief task the struggle against Yugoslavia, and not the concern for their own people . . . the authors of [the 1948 Cominform] resolution experienced an inglorious end." The reference was to such former CP leaders as Ana Pauker, Matyas Rakosi Mihaly Farkas, Erno Gero, Georgi Malenkov, Rudolph Slansky and six others of the 17 signers of the Cominform resolution who finished "tragically."

Declaring that Yugoslavia will not be a "passive object of anyone's policy," **Komunist** said: "The Yugoslav Communist League will continue in the future . . . cooperation with all Socialist countries and Communist parties on principles of equality, voluntariness, nonimposing of views, as well as the true Socialist internationalism which is not deformed by any monopolism."

SOVIET POSITION: Pravda did not refer to the 1948 Cominform resolution. It asked why the Yugoslavs were complaining, since they themselves circulated their draft program among "all the fraternal parties." **Pravda** was especially incensed by the Yugoslav draft program's assertion that a socialist country might also economically exploit another socialist country. It speculated whether the U.S. gave economic aid to Yugoslavia because Belgrade was trying "to weaken the unity of the international Communist and working-class movement."


STRAUSS
ADMINISTRATION
CONGRESSMAN REVEALS PACIFIC TESTS BEGAN IN APRIL
HERBLOCK

Herblock, Washington Post

"We're faced with a security crisis. Information is still leaking into this country."

Pravda said preservation of the unity of the international Communist and working-class movement "against aggressive imperialism" was "the sacred duty of all Communist and workers' parties."

THE SPECULATION: The exchange offered a field day for U.S. correspondents and commentators who were or had been "there." Some thought the conflict reflected a bitter political struggle between the free-wheeling Soviet Premier Krushchev and the old-guard Stalinists, the latter apparently forcing Khrushchev to endorse a "tough" policy against Belgrade in exchange for their agreement to domestic changes. Others thought Peking entered the controversy out of fear that a summit meeting without Peking's participation would leave China out in the cold.

A BRITISH VIEW: The London **New Statesman** (5/3) saw the dispute as highly significant. In its eyes, "the Yugoslavs have defined their views of the the world in an elaborate theoretical text which, some of them claim, is the first original Marxist work of its kind since Lenin wrote **State and Revolution.**"

It said the Yugoslavs "consider that the gains made by labor or social-nationalist movements within capitalism may be both genuine and substantial . . . They forcefully repudiate the view 'that Communist parties have a monopoly over every aspect of the movement of society towards socialism, and that socialism can only find its representatives in them and through them'."

To the New Statesman this "is the central issue in dispute between Moscow and Belgrade." The Soviets also accuse the Yugoslavs of elevating "their special situation into a general theory," failing to recognize that, as Moscow says, "in certain conditions proletarian internationalism demands the subordination of the interests of proletarian struggle in one country to the interests of the struggle on a world-wide scale."

NO BREACH SEEN: No matter which analysis—if any—is correct, it would seem that an open breach between Yugoslavia and other socialist lands is not in sight; Khrushchev still had enough authority to plug for domestic reform and to promote a summit conference.

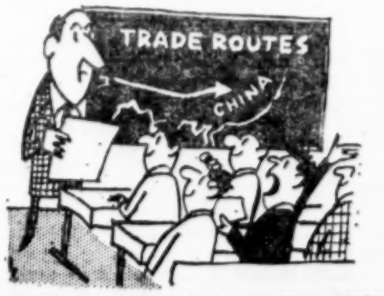
The Yugoslavs, who had originally planned to climax their party conference last month by endorsing the draft program, instead sent the program back to the drafting commission for amendment. Both Chinese and Soviet officials have stated that repetition of the 1948-49 Cominform expulsion of the Yugoslav Communist League was out of the question.

Others, too, trod the controversial ground warily. Polish Premier Gomulka joined Hungarian Premier Kadar in condemning "revisionism," but without specifically mentioning Yugoslavia. Indian Prime Minister Nehru was more outspoken. He called the attack on Yugoslavia interference in its internal affairs, but also stressed that he was not taking sides.

NEW CONCESSIONS: Khrushchev last week pledged a sharply increased output of consumer goods for the Soviet people, offered to buy from the U.S., Britain and West Germany machinery worth $25,000,000,000 to accelerate Soviet production of synthetics of all kinds, chemicals and wearing apparel. He expressed willingness to engage Western scientists and technicians to facilitate the increase in Soviet consumer goods.

The Soviet Premier, who had already conceded to discuss "substantive issues" during preliminary summit negotiations, made another concession last week to speed the talks. Replying to President Eisenhower's April 28 message, he agreed to East-West experts starting work on means of detecting violations of nuclear test suspension, with the proviso that a time limit be set on their work.

A summit meeting to relax East-West tensions and to allow time to resolve ideological differences among socialist countries within the framework of East-West competitive coexistence, still seemed to retain the utmost priority.



Eccles in London Daily Worker

"Please, sir! How did Marco Polo get past Mr. Dulles?"

CAPITAL DEMONSTRATION

Jobless rally in Illinois; 1,400 picket

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.
Special to the Guardian

WHEN 1,400 trade unionists and unemployed, in response to a call from the United Auto Workers of Illinois, assembled here the week-end of May 3, Gov. William G. Stratton, GOP vice presidential hopeful, suddenly hopped a plane for a meeting in Washington.

In this state, 28% of the auto workers are jobless and almost half the remaining 71,000 are on short weeks. Bob Johnston, UAW regional director, described the situation as worse than in the Great Depression of the Thirties. The turnout to the mass demonstration, with only two weeks preparation, surpassed the expectations of the UAW leadership.

DEMAND SPECIAL SESSION: Every major industrial center and many smaller communities were represented in the demonstration. Packinghouse workers, rubber workers, shoe workers, downstate clothing workers, textile workers and retail clerks all joined in.

Many participants expressed disappointment that the demonstration had not been called by all unions in the state. The AFL state leadership was silent and those from the crafts who attended came on their own. Among the industrial unions, the steel union—the largest—did not support the action.

The Illinois state legislature is not scheduled to convene until Jan. 1, 1959. State relief funds are running out, and an estimated 13,000 jobless exhausted their unemployment compensation payments last month. With the state's jobless now over the 350,000 number, the demand for a special session of the state legislature is growing. To all such demands Gov. Stratton, who heads the Governors' Conference Committee that acts as an advisory board to President Eisenhower, has maintained a normal GOP attitude—wait and see.

NAILED TO THE DOOR: High mark of the demonstration was a parade and demonstration at Gov. Stratton's unoccupied mansion. There, assembled on the lawn, the jobless pinned their demands to the absentee Governor's door.

At a mass meeting which overflowed the Knights of Columbus hall, State Director of Labor Roy F. Cummins, who represented the governor, pleaded for patience and counselled caution.

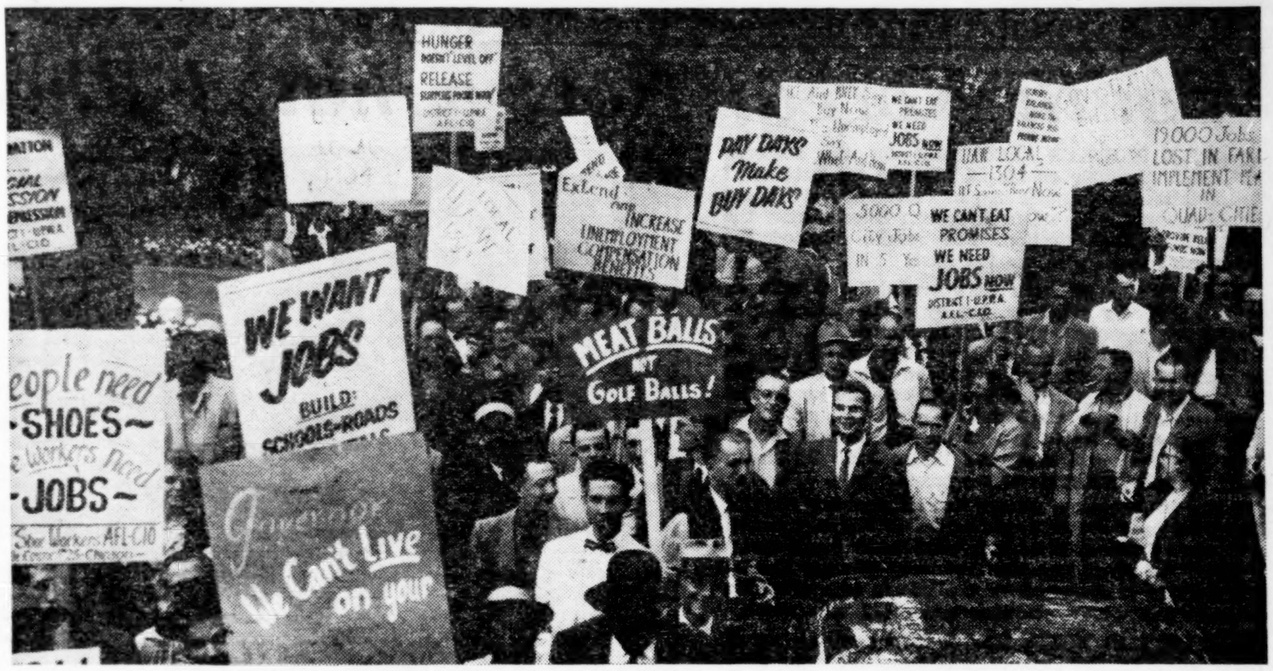
Cummins, who is a member of Local 134 of the Int. Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Chicago, was constantly heckled and interrupted until Sen. Paul Douglas and UAW leader Johnston asked the audience to allow him to finish.

Rep. Peter F. Mack, Congressman from the Springfield area, and Sen. Douglas both spoke.

Douglas placed a large share of the blame on the GOP Dixiecrat combination for the failure of Congress to act on social legislation. Both men called for a special session of the Illinois legislature and immediate steps to aid the jobless.

LONG FIGHT: To many, the jobless action was the first step in a long battle. The conference voted to convene mass meetings of the unemployed in every major city in the state. All unions and central labor bodies were called upon to join in the demand for a special session. This is expected to embarrass many AFL leaders with long ties with state Republicans.

Demands included improvement in unemployment compensation payments, both in duration and amount, new appropriations of relief funds, a state minimum wage law of $1.25 an hour and a state public works program.



THE UNEMPLOYED PICKETING THE GOVERNOR'S MANSION IN SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS
The Governor took a powder, but they pinned their demands to his front door

PRESS AND PUBLIC RAIL AT U.S. AND OWN OFFICIALS

Heikkila detention raises storm in Canada

Special to the Guardian
VANCOUVER, Canada

CITY POLICE in this West Coast Canadian community are under fire for their part in the kidnap-deportation of William Heikkila, 52-year-old Finnish-born San Francisco draftsman. Following his seizure as he left work Friday, April 18, he was hustled into a car, taken to the airport, and flown as sole passenger in a 65-passenger Immigration Service plane to this city.

Here, in the early hours of Saturday, April 19, he was booked into the city jail under a false name and held in solitary confinement in the jail hospital ward. During his 39-hour stay, he was refused permission to phone his lawyer or his wife or to contact the Finnish Consul.

Sunday afternoon he was taken from the jail by U.S. Immigration officers and put on a Canadian Pacific airlines flight to be flown non-stop over the Pole to Amsterdam. Before take-off he told his story to a fellow passenger, Andrew Kola. When take-off was delayed, everyone except Heikkila was allowed off the plane. Kola told his relatives and the hush-hush story got to the local papers.

PRESS, OFFICIALS PROTEST: After his departure, word of his detention was splashed across the front pages of both Vancouver dailies, the **Sun** and the **Province.** Canadians, especially sensitive to secret agreements between Canadian law enforcement agencies and their U.S. counterparts, demanded to know why city police had held Heikkila.

Senior Vancouver police magistrate Oscar Orr wrote Mayor Fred Hume, head of the city's police commission, demanding an investigation into police failure to bring Heikkila before a police court sitting within 24 hours as required by the Criminal Code of Canada.

Lawyers pointed out that another violation of the Criminal Code was police refusal of Heikkila's repeated requests to be allowed to phone his lawyer or his wife.

Top law official of the province of British Columbia, Atty. Gen. Robert Bonner, wired the Vancouver mayor asking for "justification" for the detention of Heikkila. In Ottawa, federal Justice Minister Davie Fulton expressed his amazement at the police action and promised an inquiry.

Columnists and editorial writers for Vancouver papers blistered the U.S. Immigration Service for its methods and demanded investigations to prevent Canadians from being involved again.

The **Province**'s Jean Howarth accused the U.S. of "debauching freedom" while editorially the paper called the local police "stooges for American Bureaucracy," which it said practiced a "roughshod ruthlessness in the name of expediency."

Vancouver member of the Canadian parliament John Taylor said he would press for action by Canada to prevent the use of Canadian jails as "havens against habeas corpus proceedings in U.S. courts"—a reference to the issuing in San Francisco Saturday of a court order restraining the deportation of Heikkila at the time he was still in Vancouver jail.

COPS ON SPOT: Officials of the Canadian Immigration branch at first denied that the holding had violated any Canada-U.S. agreement. In this they were flatly contradicted by their boss, Justice Minister Fulton. He said the agreement provided only for transit, not for detention. Local immigration supervisor R. M. Black put city police even more on the spot by revealing that he had refused permission for Heikkila to be held in an Immigration Department cell.

Vancouver police are particularly vulnerable to public criticism. The force has a recent record of scandal including bribery charges and jail deaths that culminated in an extensive probe, suicides and dismissals from the force, and the decamping of the then chief to the U.S.

Present chief George Archer is a high official of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police brought in to rebuild shattered public confidence. The RCMP has a long record of witch-hunting on its own and cooperates closely with the FBI.

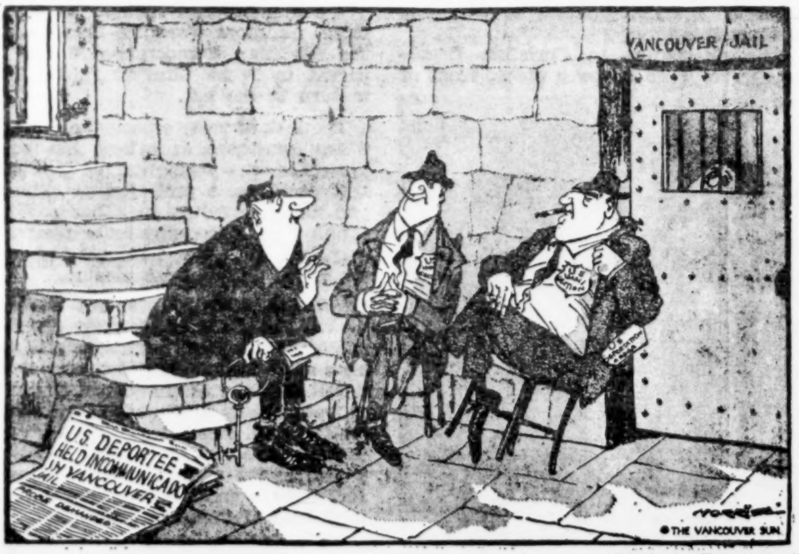
For the Police Commission inquiry, Archer failed to recall from holiday Deputy Chief Gordon Ambrose who made the arrangements with the U.S. agents. But he made it clear that the jailing was with his knowledge and approval. He told the Police Commission that he had informed the U.S. Immigration that they would be solely responsible for the detention and agreed with his deputy that they would give Heikkila up to any habeas corpus proceedings.

INQUIRY STALLED: The Police Commission adjourned its inquiry to await the return of Ambrose. Archer promptly left on a previously scheduled trip to England to lecture on RCMP methods. The Vancouver **Sun** said of the Police Commission's slow-motion inquiry:

"This kind of hemming and hawing invites the public to suspect there are two kinds of law enforcement in Vancouver."

The issue, said the paper, "rasps on the most delicate relationship between police and public—just when are the police entitled to interfere with an individual's liberty?"

Whatever the outcome it seems very unlikely that Vancouver police will be so accommodating to U.S. Immigration in the future.


VANCOUVER JAIL
U.S. DEPORTEE HELD INCOMMUNICADO IN VANCOUVER JAIL
NORRIS
© THE VANCOUVER SUN

Norris in Vancouver Sun
"It's little anecdotes like this that the chief will love to spring on them during his tour of England . . ."

* * *

"Civilization must be judged and prized, not by the amount of power it has developed, but by how much it has evolved and given expression to, by its laws and institutions, the love of humanity." RABINDRANATH TAGORE

ALL ASIA WONDERS WHAT U.S. HOPES TO GAIN BY STAYING

South Korea: How a hated Rhee hangs on

THE U.S. ARMY'S ATOMIC CANNON MARKS THE BIRTHDAY OF A TRIGGER-HAPPY FRIEND
This was part of a bristling display celebrating Rhee's 83rd year in Seoul in April

SOUTH KOREA'S ELECTIONS for the 233-seat Natl. Assembly on May 2 followed the pattern of intimidation and suppression of democratic rights set by octogenarian President Syngman Rhee during the 1956 Presidential election. The results dimmed the prospects for peace in the Far East.

The assembly elections were preceded not only by Rhee's arbitrary measures, but by North Korean proposals for peaceful unification of Korea. On Jan. 12 Rhee jailed five leaders of the Progressive Party on charges of attempting to overthrow his government; six weeks later he summarily outlawed the party. His goal was a two-thirds Assembly majority that would give him authority to amend the constitution to bar Vice President and opposition leader John P. Chang from possible succession to the presidency.

Early in February, North Korean Premier Kim Il Sung proposed peaceful unification of Korea through a general election. Rhee and his Liberal Party flatly rejected the offer. But Vice President Chang's Democratic Party campaigned on a platform of unification through nation-wide elections under UN supervision.

SETBACK FOR RHEE: The election results showed heavy gains for the Democrats and losses for the Liberals. Rhee's party failed to obtain a two-thirds majority; it won 125 seats in contrast to 131 seats in the previous Assembly. The Democrats boosted their seats from 46 to 79. Independents won 28 and the small Unity Party, one.

In the capital of Seoul, where Rhee's highhanded methods would have been too obvious, the Democrats took 14 of the 16 seats, with two going Independent. Vice President Chang said this "clearly tells where the genuine will of the people lies," and added: "The Democratic Party could have won a nation-wide victory if a fair and clean election were held."

Two years ago the elections had been similar. Rhee used the police and military power then to override all opposition, but Chang was elected Vice President and P. H. Shiniky, Democratic candidate for President, polled more votes than Rhee in Seoul. Shiniky, who died during the campaign, had wished to explore North Korea's offer of negotiations for peaceful unification, and his name remained on the ballot.

UNIFICATION OFFER: It was that moral defeat that prompted Rhee to take ruthless measures to prevent a recurrence. He appointed a tough new national police chief and shifted other regional police heads who had, as the N.Y. **Times** said, "failed to deliver the votes in their areas."

Three months before this month's elections, North Korean Premier Kim Il Sung proposed the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korean soil. China agreed, expressed the hope that the U.S. would follow suit, and proposed free, nation-wide Korean elections supervised by a "neutral nations" commission. By May 1, more than 80,000 Chinese troops had left North Korea; Peking announced that the rest would leave by year's end, irrespective of what the U.S. did.

Washington rejected the North Korean proposal. It still held that Chinese troops must leave while U.S. forces remained in Korea, and that elections be held afterwards not on the basis of all political parties running candidates for an all-Korean parliament but parliamentary representation in proportion to the North and South Korean population. The population of South Korea is about three times that of North Korea.

FOR TOTAL WITHDRAWAL: On May 6 North Korea and China accused "the UN Command" (which is virtually the U.S. command, since other UN members that sent troops to Korea now have only token forces there) of prolonging the occupation of South Korea to increase tension in the Far East. They said:

"Only a complete withdrawal of all foreign forces will provide the necessary conditions for a peaceful settlement of the Korean question, including the question of holding free elections."

North Korea and China announced they will soon call a conference of all the countries concerned to discuss the issue.

How fruitful such a conference might be would depend on the attitude of the U.S.

Thoughtful Asians find it incredible that Washington still seems to believe with Secy. of State Dulles that the Peking government can be scared out of existence by beefing up U.S. air forces in South Korea with the latest jets, 280-mm atomic cannon and launchers for the Honest John rocket capable of using a nuclear warhead. They consider it highly provocative that U.S. ground troops in South Korea have been converted into "pentomic" units suitable for nuclear warfare.

ONE WAY OUT: These Asians wonder what the U.S. hopes to gain by indefinite military occupation of South Korea, which has kept an unpopular regime in power, crippled South Korean economy and provoked bitter conflicts between South Koreans and the occupation forces. There is a wealth of evidence that the North Korean proposal for unification appeals to all South Koreans except Rhee and his small coterie of supporters.

A friendly Korea is as vital to China as a friendly Canada is to the U.S. Such a Korea can in no way endanger the security of the U.S. Indian and other Asian statesmen therefore agree with Peking that the only way to eliminate this pocket of potential conflict is to withdraw all foreign troops from Korea and let the Koreans decide their own future.

NATION GOES TO THE POLLS MAY 25-26

Elections in Italy: No great changes foreseen

By Ursula Wassermann
Guardian staff correspondent

ROME

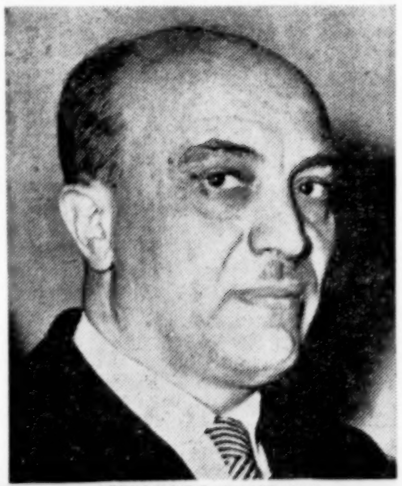
THE ONE VAST difference between the present campaign for elections (May 25 and 26) and the Italian election campaign of 1953 is that it is no longer regarded as an exclusive match between two giants, the Christian Democrats and the Communist Party. The two together polled nearly 63% of the total vote five years ago.

Few expect either of the two major parties to lose substantially—on the contrary, most forecasts agree that there will be little shift in emphasis. But the temper of the times has changed and the campaign, vigorous as it is, is conducted in an atmosphere of calm.

Absent is the hysteria which was so noticeable five years ago, when the U.S. Embassy under the guidance of Ambassador Clare Booth Luce acted as unofficial headquarters for the anti-Communist forces. At that time the combined Left—Communists and Nenni Socialists—proudly claimed every third Italian as their own. Rome is no longer defaced with posters, and door-to-door canvassing has replaced much of the earlier electioneering which took place mainly in the streets and often came to near-rioting.

SOCIALISTS DIVIDED: If the "red peril" is regarded as a thing of the past in the minds of most middle-class voters, so is the danger of a clerical state to those left of center. There is now more room for maneuver for several of the smaller parties, especially the two socialist parties, the Republicans and the Liberals. Everybody seems to be going it alone this time.

The alternative to Christian Democratic rule is no longer a united front of the Left—much desired by some and equally abhorrent to others. Nobody really thinks of an alternative to the Christian Democrats as the country's leading party, but only of a possible shift to left-of-center, provided the two socialist parties poll a sufficient number of votes to force Amintore Fanfani—Secy.-Gen. of the Christian Democrats and heir apparent to Prime Minister Adone Zoli—to turn to the left.



AMINTORE FANFANI
They say he's in the wings

The lack of unity among the Socialists, which continues as before, has so far prevented the formation of a Center-Left coalition. A post-election alliance—and many Socialists in either party are running on a Socialist unity platform—may yet give the new government a somewhat different complexion.

CP STILL STRONG: As for the Communist Party, which five years ago polled nearly 23% of the total vote and today aims at 25%, it seems fairly certain that it will continue as the largest single bloc of votes next to the Christian Democratic Party. Dissension, inter-party conflicts and so-called purges, widely reported in the non-Communist press, affect only a small minority within the solid bloc of Communist voters.

As elsewhere, it is the intellectuals rather than the working class members who have voiced criticism and opposition following the 20th Congress and the events in Hungary.

To the large mass of under-privileged, the CP remains today the central hope and the main refuge. In the industrial north, if recent trade union elections are an indication, the Party may show some losses, but the south is expected to vote solidly Communist.

In sharp contrast to the campaign of 1953 is the almost total absence of foreign policy issues. Five years ago, a united Left attacked Italy's membership in NATO and pleaded for a neutral foreign policy. Today, when neutralism elsewhere has grown tremendously, Italy (with the exception of the CP) seems firmly committed to the West. Little is made of the scheduled installation of American rocket bases.

NO GREAT CHANGES: A recent public opinion poll showed that eight of every ten Italians dismiss any possibility of a world conflict. There is no nuclear disarmament movement here along the lines of Great Britain's efforts and no demonstrations against the Bomb on the model of West Germany.

Apathy in terms of foreign policy seems almost universal, with protests as few and as ineffectual as in France. But in contrast to France—moving from crisis to crisis and dangerously on the brink of the abyss—Italy seems to have reached a state of almost complete equilibrium.

With many of its social and economic questions unsolved, especially in the impoverished south, it would still be surprising if the election results brought any great changes in the present political grouping of forces.

WILL THE LID BLOW OFF AGAIN?

British organize their own funeral in seething Kenya

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

A YEAR AFTER winning its own freedom, Ghana played host last month to a conference which gave shape and form to the dream of all-African independence. Delegates of eight sovereign African states, all represented in the UN, resolved upon unified actions to rid their continent of white supremacy and racist myths.

But while the delegates conferred in Accra, elsewhere in Africa repression and bloodshed were being desperately intensified. Reports came in on the white terror in Algeria, and the conference heard from representatives of independence groups in Togoland and in the Cameroons that "a real state of war" exists there "which will soon make the Cameroons a second Algeria." The conference condemned "military force against unarmed people" and called upon France, the administering power, to "comply with the UN Charter."

A resolution on racism condemned South Africa and British rule in Central Africa and Kenya.

BRITISH GIMMICK: In Kenya, East Africa, all eyes were on Accra and the lid on which Britain has sat uneasily since the "Mau Mau emergency" of 1952 seemed about to blow off again. During that "emergency," according to Air Marshal Arthur Harris in a recent letter to the London **Times,** 10,000 persons were killed, including more than 1,000 hanged, and some 75,000 were herded into concentration camps (where at least 20,000 still remain.)

JOMO KENYATTA
First the militant, then the moderates

The British government is as determined to maintain Kenya as a "strategic base" as are the 50,000 white settlers to hang on to the rich farmlands grabbed from the Africans. This they hope to achieve by giving Africans the appearance without the reality of participation in government.

But as in Central Africa, Kenya's Africans are unwilling to play the game of gimmick "constitutions" which, in effect, disfranchise most black citizens and exclude all but stooges from the government.

MEETINGS BANNED: The 6,000,000 Africans demand at least half the seats in the Legislature. When this was refused, all elected African members boycotted the Legislative Council, and a meeting of protest against the "constitution" was called in Nairobi. Tom Mboya, Kenya trade union secretary and leader of the elected Africans, criticized it in quiet and moderate terms.

This was enough to bring a ban on all political meetings in Nairobi. Also banned, on the ground that it was "similar to Mau Mau," was the Kiama Kia Muingi (African Peoples Party) which is pledged to non-violent resistance. Eighty-five APP adherents were arrested and the punishment fixed at seven years' imprisonment for membership, 14 for leadership.

Last month Mboya and six Council colleagues, who had led a boycott of elections for "special seats" in the Legislature, were charged in court with "conspiracy to commit a misdemeanor" and "publication of a defamatory statement." The alleged statement was that African contenders for "special seats" were "stooges, quislings and black Europeans." Two Nairobi newspapers were indicted for publishing the statement.

NEW DESPERATION: The indictment of Mboya—whom the British had continued to tolerate as a "moderate" while holding such militants as Jomo Kenyatta in jail—showed a new phase of white desperation in Kenya. In recent weeks white leaders have been warning of "storm clouds banking up again" and suggesting that settlers "keep their guns by them and bolt their doors."

Kenya has lowered an iron curtain on all white enemies of racism. A Londoner just back from Kenya told the GUARDIAN: "There are many quite reasonable folk among the whites there, but it becomes more and more dangerous for them to speak their minds, let alone act toward Africans as fellow human beings rather than as babies or half-baked lunatics. The predominant voice of the settlers is decades out of date and ignorant of the simplest political realities of our time.

THEY LOAD THEIR GUNS EVEN THOUGH THEY KNOW THEY'RE DONE
A roundup of Africans in Kenya where the storm clouds gather again

"They try to pretend that African nationalism is something 'stirred up by communists' but they don't even believe it themselves. Settlers with a little sense see Britain organizing its own funeral in Kenya by taking away the Africans' own culture and trying to substitute something for which they have no respect. But one hears some people say, 'Kenya is finished, South Africa is the only place for us now'—and, even as they say it, they are loading their guns."

UNFORGETTABLE DATE: In London, the Committee of African Organizations (combining ten African groups in Britain) opened a fund for defense of Mboya and his six colleagues. British anti-colonialists, fearing more bloodshed in a hopeless cause, increased pressure on Labor Party leaders to withdraw their support of Kenya's Tory-imposed "constitution."

With free Ghana flexing its political muscles across the African continent, the colonialists' dilemma had been dramatized at the anti-"constitution" rally in Nairobi just before the ban. There, 4,000 Africans had cheered and shouted "Freedom!" as Mboya, calling for "government by the majority of the people," unfurled a flag with the head of Prime Minister Nkrumah and the date of Ghanaian independence. It is a date from which no African will ever look back.

THE CASE OF THE MARINE CORPS VETERAN

Witch-hunt gets a welcome burial in Puerto Rico

IN A DECISION that comes close to burying the waning witch-hunt in Puerto Rico, a district court of appeals there last month ruled that there had never been an official finding that the Communist Party of Puerto Rico advocated the violent overthrow of the government of the U.S. or of Puerto Rico.

Judge Luis R. Polo said that on the contrary there "was a complete absence of proof of the subversive character" of the Puerto Rican CP and no indication that it was connected in any way with the CP in the U.S. He noted that the U.S. Attorney General's list includes the American CP but not the Puerto Rican CP.

Judge Polo said that in the past Puerto Rican CP leaders had been rounded up, jailed and then freed with no charges against them, only to be picked up again and hauled before U.S. Federal Courts in Puerto Rico. In the end even these charges were quashed. He referred to the government's recent decision to withdraw Smith Act prosecutions in Puerto Rico.

'RISK' REINSTATED: Judge Polo made his ruling in the course of a decision reinstating a man to his job in the Finance Dept. of Puerto Rico from which he had been fired on Feb. 7, 1951, on charges of CP membership. Leonard Sidney Schlafer was a warehouse guard in the department at the end of October, 1950, when the abortive Nationalist uprising gave witch-hunters in Puerto Rico and Washington an excuse for general hysteria. He was investigated, asked to resign and urged to write a letter to the newspapers "clarifying" his politics. Schlafer told the GUARDIAN in a letter:

"They acted like I was responsible for the French revolution, the Communist Manifesto and the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917. I guess I'm lucky that I wasn't offered a cup of hemlock."

The evidence against Schlafer consisted largely of articles he had written, some before he was employed by the government. Judge Polo summed up the writings this way: "In general terms he advocated the disappearance of racial discrimination, the equal application of the rights of man, the respect for civil liberties which ought to prevail in Puerto Rico, the fight against prejudice shown by certain North Americans against Puerto Ricans in New York and other principles of social and economic reform which distinguished personages defend throughout the democratic world."

ROUGH TIME: Government attorneys said that Schlafer's persistent fight against racial discrimination and his membership in the Independentista Party proved he was a communist. Judge Polo said there was no such proof but that if he were a CP member it wouldn't have justified dismissal. Lower courts had approved the firing but their decisions were reversed by Judge Polo. The government announced that it would not appeal Judge Polo's ruling.

Since his dismissal in 1951 Schlafer has found it rough going. He wrote: "I am a Marine Corps veteran who participated in the capture and defense of Guadalcanal. I have been living in Puerto Rico since 1947 and am married to a colored Puerto Rican. We have four children. I was born in Brooklyn, raised in Connecticut and am of Jewish descent. My life has sure been no bed of roses, as you can imagine." Seven years' back pay as a warehouse guard, to which Schlafer is now entitled, should make things easier.

Last March Judge Polo ordered the reinstatement of another Puerto Rican victimized in the 1950-51 hysteria. Gil Suarez was an Internal Revenue agent who never concealed his Nationalist sympathies. His desk bore pictures of Nationalist leaders and the Puerto Rican flag which, before the Commonwealth, was regarded as a subversive display. Judge Polo noted that before the Nationalist insurrection of 1950 no one had found Suarez' sympathies ground for dismissal. The government, he said, had not proved that Suarez was a member of the Nationalist Party or that he had had anything to do with the uprising.

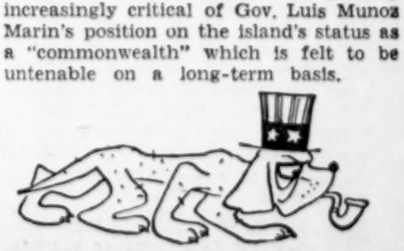
The Judge, over-ruling the lower courts, held that the government could not fire a man merely because he "maintained the Nationalist ideal."

NEVER POPULAR: Suarez will collect back pay from the end of 1950. Since his dismissal he has been operating a small ice cream plant but his wife summed up their misfortunes: "We have had to chew ground glass."

Puerto Rico has seen a greater relaxation of the witch-hunt than any part of continental U.S. It never had any measure of popular support. The jailing of the Nationalist and CP leaders provoked widespread protest, even from conservative sources. In 1956 the government sent for Roger Baldwin, international affairs adviser of the American Civil Liberties Union, to make a survey of Puerto Rican liberty and file a report.

The ACLU said that an interim report of the survey resulted in repeal of the island's 1948 "Gag Law" which made it a felony to "promote, advocate, advise or preach" forcible overthrow of the government. The law had been modeled after the Smith Act. Following its repeal, 13 prisoners who were serving time under it were pardoned. Baldwin's survey is to be completed this year.

The Puerto Rican press has hailed advances in civil liberties while growing increasingly critical of Gov. Luis Munoz Marin's position on the island's status as a "commonwealth" which is felt to be untenable on a long-term basis.



BOOKS

What do we want out of our schools?

THE PERPLEXING—and challenging—aspect of democracy is that it has never yet been wholly successful. It has not been molded into a specific form so that its adherents can smugly maintain the status quo anywhere. Because it has nowhere yet fully arrived it cannot be maintained by pledges of allegiance. It is still the creed of the rebel. And rebels still must shun the shrines where democracy is most easily buried.

A truly democratic educational system, proudly hailed each commencement day in millions of schools throughout the nation, has yet to be constructed. Its philosophy is still unclear. The pursuit of such a philosophy and such a school system is lucidly, critically presented by Irving Adler in **What We Want Of Our Schools,*** which first appeared last year.

In it Adler, teacher and author, clearly charts the rabbit-tracks we have followed in our flight away from the caste system of education and how we have come in circles to a system still permeated with class snobbery and woefully deficient in the production of democrats or scholars.

SCHOOLMASTERS of the thirteen colonies, Adler points out, had a simple approach to their students. The poor were educated to make them better fulfill their functions as hewers of wood and drawers of water. The wealthy were given the fruits of the world's learning. The poor were taught to be ruled, the rich and well-born, to rule.

In the early 19th century, when factories produced a working class that sought its rights and the slogans of the Revolution were still unenshrined and alive, workingmen of New York clamored for public education as the "safeguard of liberty" and called for the "axe of knowledge" to cut the "root of aristocracy."

The growth of the free school was a new thing in the world, an exclusive American contribution. But the provision of buildings, teachers and books at low cost or free has not been enough. Similarly at present, when admittedly there are not enough buildings or teachers or books, the mere addition of facilities will not do the trick. Adler shows that our standards of education have declined, our children know less than those in the rest of the world, they are caught in a swift rise in juvenile delinquency and our educators unwittingly draw a class line down the middle of the classroom.

THE INTELLIGENCE QUOTIENT test—the IQ—and the thinking behind it is responsible for much of the decline, says Adler. The nation has been hoaxed by it and under its rule the pernicious dogmas of hereditary aristocracy have crept back into the schools.

The IQ test measures something, but Adler, like many other educators, hotly disputes that it's intelligence. The IQ is determined this way: a group of a certain age level is tested and the resulting scores charted. The mid-point is thereafter the norm for that age level. When a child thereafter is tested the examiners find the age level whose norm comes closest to the child's score. That is then called the child's "mental age." The examiner then divides the mental age by the child's chronological age and comes up with a percentage figure that is known as the child's IQ. If both ages coincide, the IQ is 100. If his mental age is ahead of his years he rates higher, otherwise the figure will be lower.

To the IQ testers, what they are measuring is an inherited, unchanging faculty. The I.Q. has been used to bolster every prejudice extant. Consistently, working-class children rate lower than middle- or upper-class kids; farm boys don't score as high as city boys. Negroes, Puerto Ricans and immigrants rate lower than native-born white Americans. The school system, which is still dominated by the IQ, tags the children in this way and grades them after that only by the way their performance agrees with their "mental age." If a 15-year-old reads only as well as a 10-year-old should, but his IQ gives him a mental age of 10, he is given no remedial reading, no special attention. He is regularly promoted, credited with doing as well as he can, and shunted on to what is known as "the second track." This is the course of "slow" classes, of "life adjustment" and purely vocational training.

BRING THE WORLD'S HERITAGE TO THE LEARNERS . . .

ADLER DEBUNKS the IQ test, shows that it measures not intelligence but performance. He denies that the hereditary, unchanging factors of intelligence are as significant as the environmental factors. Most IQ tests, he says, are reading tests and those who have had poorer preparation will obviously do worse than those better trained.

Dozens of other subtle prejudices creep into the tests favoring the middle-class, white city boy. More than that, Adler assails the whole principle that brands children as congenitally slow and then keeps them that way. He goes back to what seems the old-fashioned educational notion of developing a child's powers beyond his present abilities, of rating children by achievement, and giving help to those who need it.

This book contains the neatest definition and history of that curious complex of high hopes and misadventures known as "progressive education." Adler would not toss out all of progressive education. He would save some of its concern for the individual child and some of its social bent but he breaks completely from those who sacrifice content to method, those who would teach only by play and "projects" in accord with what the child "feels" he needs. He would reintroduce standards of achievement in a well-rounded schooling that would bring the world's heritage to the student but not necessarily adjust him to the status quo. He reverts to the old idea that education is to equip those who must rule. In a democracy that should be the people.

—**Elmer Bendiner**

**WHAT WE WANT OF OUR SCHOOLS, by Irving Adler. John Day Co., 62 W. 45 St., N.Y. 256 pp., $3.75.*

BEFORE AND AFTER McKINLEY

The Philippines--without July 4th oratory

CONFRONTED WITH CHARGES of imperialism, Washington proudly points to the Philippines as a former U.S. colony that has blossomed into "a showcase of Western-style democracy" under American tutelage. Shorn of propaganda, the picture the islands present is one of lamentable poverty and misery.

Tightly tied to the world's richest and most highly industrialized country, the Philippines after a dozen years' "independence" remains largely agricultural, dominated by feudal land barons. Dollar reserves have slid from $225,000,000 to about $150,000,000; trade deficit has climbed to $186,000,000, one-fourth of the workers are unemployed and President Carlos Garcia is on his way to Washington this month with his hat in hand.

Corruption in the government the U.S. eulogizes has apparently reached to the very top. In last month's National Press Club Gridiron show in Manila, a bitter sketch depicted Mrs. Garcia slipping out from the wings and picking up a huge election-time bribe which Garcia was piously rejecting.

THE FILIPINOS—with their proud revolutionary record and their valorous guerrilla warfare during the Japanese occupation—deserve better. A Labor Research Assn. booklet* has done a remarkable job of presenting the story of the Philippines' struggle for political and economic independence within a short space and in smooth-flowing style.

Here the reader learns something of the background of the Philippines before President McKinley picked up the white man's burden after he had "prayed Almighty God for light and guidance;" U.S. economic exploitation which to this day reaps an annual rate of profit of 18% in investments in the islands, in contrast to the 15% U.S. investment earns elsewhere abroad; the obstacles to land reform and industrialization in a country of fertile soil and rich mineral resources; the importance and the effect of U.S. military bases in an ostensibly independent country.

Balancing the somber picture of the condition of the people, the booklet tells of the legacy of past strivings and present attempts by the Filipinos to better their condition, strongly influenced today by the accomplishments of their neighbors, the Chinese.

Though necessarily compressed due to size, the booklet contains a wealth of data buttressed by sources given in reference notes. It should reach a wide reading public.

—**Kumar Goshal**

**U.S. AND THE PHILIPPINES, by Labor Research Assn. International Publishers, 381 Fourth Ave., New York 16. 64 pp. 50c.*

HARLOW SHAPLEY TAKES A LITTLE UNIVERSAL STOCK

The man who counted the stars . . . and why he did it

HARLOW SHAPLEY

We've got a good chance, if . . .

THE FIRST MAN to count the stars, Harlow Shapley, has given us a philosophical essay on "star facts and human destiny" in a new short book, **Of Stars and Men.*** This comes after more than three-score-and-ten years in which he made many major scientific contributions and took forthright democratic stands, such as a firm opposition to the Un-American Committee. Eyes that are used to looking outward toward millions of miles and backward billions of years are still clear. He calls on man to accept his place between the atom and the Metagalaxy.

In this small book there is a generous helping of the lore that the mind of a master scientist alone can offer. After introducing established data ranging from nuclear physics to cosmography, he allows himself some speculations on such topics as life on other earths (highly probable on millions or billions of planets) and other and possibly finer senses and minds.

He calls on individual men to have less concern for themselves and more for their species because otherwise, on a biological insurance chart, they mightn't be a good risk. Nevertheless, he thinks the survival chances of our kind are good if we accept our natural "placement" in the universe and on Earth as creatures of a widespread Psychozoic or intelligent kind. He himself is not coldly rational but warmly so, even-tempered and tolerant, calling for humility and hope rather than over-confidence.

—**Robert Joyce**

**OF STARS AND MEN, by Harlow Shapley. Beacon Press, Beacon Hill, Boston. 157 pp. $3.50.*

Attack on Powell

(Continued from Page 1)

concessions from the Tammany Tiger.

HOBSON'S CHOICE: Now Tammany has decided the wrestling match is over. Six of the seven Democratic district leaders in the 16th C. D. are reported ready to drop Powell in favor of a more manageable candidate, "a true organization man." The chief Negro spokesman of the machine, Manhattan Borough President Hulan Jack, has said that "Mr. Powell's behavior has not been in the best interests of the Democratic Party."

He would seem to be right. In October, 1956, Powell returned to the political wars from a three-month jaunt in Europe, took a look at the battlefield, and called upon Negroes to "think first as Negroes at the polls." After thinking a little further, himself, he decided that the Democratic civil rights plank was "wishy washy" and the Republican plank "so little better than that of the Democrats as to provide a Hobson's choice":

When to elect there is but one,
'Tis Hobson's Choice; take that or none.

Nevertheless, after still further thought and a widely-heralded visit with Presidential candidate Eisenhower, Powell came out for Ike in '56. Soon thereafter a Federal grand jury that had been investigating the Congressman's income tax returns called an abrupt halt to its inquiries. Rumor had it that this was the pay-off for Powell's switch. Both the President and the Congressman denied the rumor.

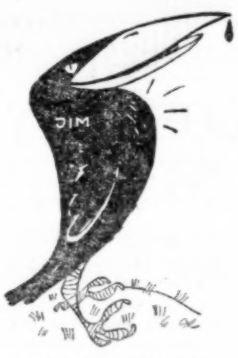
CHANGE AT THE POLLS: Whatever his personal reasons, Powell's endorsement of Eisenhower and of Jacob K. Javits, N.Y. Republican candidate for the U.S. Senate, reflected the growing disenchantment of Negroes with the Democratic party to which they had given their votes in landslide proportions since 1936.

The party of Roosevelt had become weighted down by "the stinking albatross of Eastlandism." Because of Southern rebellion and Stevenson's "moderation" on integration, Negro Democrats who toed the party line cast their ballots with heavy hearts.

Many broke the habit. Eisenhower's share of the Negro vote increased 18% over 1952—from 21% to 39% of the total. Forty of 100 Negro weekly newspapers supported the President. In the Deep South, where Negroes blamed Democratic state machines for the limitations on their franchise, those who could vote gave Eisenhower a majority of their ballots. Stevenson had carried Baltimore's predominantly Negro 14th C. D. two-to-one in 1952; in '56 the tally shifted to Eisenhower, three-to-two.

RIGHT-WING ASSIST: Republican gains among Negroes did not hurt Democrat Powell. He rode back into office with 59,399 of 72,529 votes cast in his district. They did, however, do considerable damage to the prestige of DeSapio. And the Tammany boss is a prideful man.

Political observers believed it would be only a matter of time before DeSapio would seek to settle accounts with Powell. That time has come. Capitalizing on an assist from the extreme right-wing of the Republican Party and Powell's apparent fall from Eisenhower's grace, DeSapio needed only to find an "acceptable" candidate among a half-dozen Negro hopefuls to deny the designation to Powell.



The assist came from the ultra-conservative weekly magazine, **National Review**, which last December demanded that the grand jury reconvene and continue prying into Powell's finances. The Justice Dept. for a time failed to respond, but under constant prodding by the magazine a minority of the jury threatened to "run away" with the investigation and hire as attorney Thomas A. Bolan, former Asst. U.S. Attorney who had conducted the initial probe.

Bolan is now a law partner of Roy Cohn, one-time boy-wonder and chief counsel of the late Sen. Joseph McCarthy. When Powell's lawyer challenged the inquiry on the ground that the **National Review** had illegally sought to influence the grand jury by mailing to its members anti-Powell editorials, Judge Irving I. Kaufman ruled against him. (Kaufman sentenced Julius and Ethel Rosenberg to death in the face of world-wide protest).

THE INDICTMENT: On May 8 grand jury foreman Clarence J. Myers, president of the N. Y. Life Insurance Co., handed to Judge Kaufman a three-count indictment against Powell. The indictment charged the Congressman with evading $1,663 in taxes in 1952 and aiding his wife, the pianist Hazel Scott, in preparing a false return for 1951. Each count carries a penalty of five years' imprisonment and a $10,000 fine.

In the face of mounting political and legal difficulties, Adam Powell's response was characteristic: he said he intended to slug it out. Nobody knows what will happen in the courtroom, but between now and Nov. 4 the streets of Harlem are likely to witness one of the dandiest political donnybrooks in many a day.

Powell has already set the tone of his campaign. The people of Harlem, he said, are tired of "white overlords" from downtown making the important decisions: "The Tammany leaders in Harlem are a bunch of political sissies. I don't care who they nominate—we'll be ready for them when they hit the streets of Harlem. I am definitely in the race to the finish."

DIXIECRATS PLEASED: There were rumors that two of five local Republican leaders wanted Powell on their ticket and were trying to swing a third, decisive, vote, But GOP County Chairman Thomas Curran said flatly: "I want no part of Adam Powell." Nevertheless, the prospect of a winner looked alluring to Republicans who have not elected a Congressman from Harlem since 1930.

Whatever the Republicans do, Powell will have more opposition than ever before. Labor organizations which have previously backed him were reported ready to withdraw their support. Negro newspapers carried the story that Dixiecrats had raised a $200,000 kitty to retire the Congressman. Though the report was unverified, there was no doubt that the segregationist press took cheer in Powell's difficulties. The Richmond **Times-Dispatch**, the Montgomery **Advertiser** and other Dixie dailies carried front-page stories of his tax troubles and editorially urged the grand jury to proceed with its investigation.

There was no doubt, either, that the Dixiecrats considered Powell a major electoral target. Two years ago the Democratic House leadership appeased them by stripping Powell of his seniority, thus avoiding the possibility of his becoming chairman of the Labor and Education Committee. The Patronage Committee dismissed two of his appointees from the House payroll. These actions were taken as a penalty for Powell's support of Eisenhower. No discipline, however, was invoked against John Bell Williams, the Mississippi Congressman who refused to support Stevenson and backed T. Coleman Andrews, the States Rights candidate.

POWELL AND THE PEOPLE: At the time, Rev. Gardner C. Taylor, now a member of the N.Y. City Board of Education, protested: "The Negro community may not agree with Congressman Powell but will look upon this as an anti-Negro move" and "will rally against this bigotry and will not forget this act when elections come again."

Powell will rely heavily on this sentiment in the up-coming elections. He may challenge the machine for the Democratic nomination in the Aug. 12 primary. He may make his bid as an independent in November. In either case, if his heavy equipment of political cunning does not fail him, there is a good chance Negro voters will overlook the fact that their idol may have clay feet. They have done this more than once in the past.

Not alone in Harlem, but all over the country, there is a mounting criticism by Negroes of their leadership. The essence of the complaint is that too many leaders are too far from their people and too close to the white seats of power.

In the case of Adam Clayton Powell, neither of these accusations is true.

Maybe he can pull it off.

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SAVE MONEY! GET A SUPPLY OF GUARDIAN VITAMINS! See p. 12

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NEW YORK

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The Golden Rule

(Continued from Page 1)

terms and the original AEC regulation denying Americans access to 390,000 sq. miles of open water.

The strategy of the government has been to keep the Golden Rule from sailing and to keep the four crew members immobilized but out of jail. Their six-day incarceration had already stirred world reactions. Pickets of the Committee for Non-Violent Action, sponsors of the Golden Rule, paraded in front of the White House with placards reading: "Stop H-Bomb Tests" and "World Law Not World War." At AEC Headquarters in Germantown, Pa., a group of about 20 pacifists filled the ante-room of Commission Chairman Lewis E. Strauss for six days and nights, many of them going without food "to emphasize the seriousness" of the problem.

OTHER PROTESTS: A boy of eight was among the few who had food. Authorities were careful not to use force on the pacifists. There were no arrests and the AEC provided cots for the women demonstrators. Taking similar precautions, 30-day jail sentences were suspended for the nine pacifists who picketed AEC headquarters in New York during the air raid drill on May 6.

Other demands to halt the tests came from the 173rd annual convention of the Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts; from the Natl. Assn. of Social Workers, convening in Chicago; from the Fedn. of American Scientists, and from world-famous cellist Pablo Casals in Puerto Rico.

At Christmas Island the British exploded the first bomb of their current series of tests but on May 6 announced that the tests were called off, at least for the present, and notices went out to shipping that the area was again safe. Until May 7, nothing definite had been heard from Eniwetok where the U.S. tests, known as Operation Hardtack, were being prepared. On that day Rep. Charles O. Porter (D-Ore.) revealed that the first bomb had been exploded on April 28 and the AEC was then forced to confirm the news. Porter, assailing the AEC's policy of keeping the blast under wraps, said: "This kind of flaunting of secrecy is an affront to the nation and a measure of the arrogance apparently felt by this agency. It is a defiance of the people's right to know."

STRAUSS' TERM UP: Chairman Strauss said that to release the news "would bare ourselves to our possible enemies," that to reveal the time and type of the blasts would enable the Soviet Union to test its ability to detect explosions. Porter said he was "flabbergasted" by that argument and added: "If we are concerned with stopping the arms race and establishing a feasible inspection system, then why not allow the Soviets to test their equipment?"

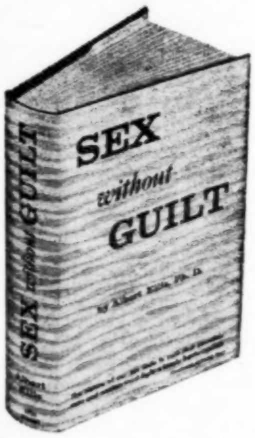
Meanwhile Strauss' term of office was nearly up. On June 30 the President was expected to ask Strauss to serve another term but there was considerable speculation that he might retire. Strauss has fought doggedly for testing; he has minimized the effects of fall-out and been responsible for the stream of tranquillizing assurances, now openly suspected by most of the world's scientists.

He has also held out for turning over the new atomic industry to private capital and thereby stirred opposition from Congressmen who foresee another gigantic give-away. Moreover, he reportedly no longer has the inside track to the White House. James R. Killian Jr., the President's special assistant for science and technology, is said to favor an agreement to halt the tests with inspection safeguards. Even Secy. of State Dulles is reported siding with Killian.

PUBLICATIONS

An amazing book . . . !

- **Amazing that it could be written**
- **Amazing that it could be published**



Sex

without

Guilt

By Dr. Albert Ellis

Here is a book which, in the eyes of some who have previewed it, ranks as the most important contribution to our sex and health literature since the **first** Kinsey Report was offered to the world.

Countless men and women must fight a lonely battle against guilt for doing those sexual things which are neither harmful to themselves nor to others.

They number in the millions . . . and they suffer from the most pervasive of all anxieties—that which comes from sex guilt.

One of the purposes of this book is to help you understand sex guilt so that you may throw off its shackles.

From masturbation to adultery, no phase of human relations is avoided in these pages. And always the talk is easy to read plain talk—born of a healthy guilt-free attitude which has grown from the observations and research of this outstanding psychologist.

This book is a tremendous move toward enlightenment . . . in that area which is the most important of all for our personal happiness—sex.

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JAMES A. NASH, Sr., well-known trade unionist, reviews Paul Robeson's book **HERE I STAND,** Fri., May 23, 8:15 p.m. Militant Labor Forum, 777 W. Adams Street

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SUNDAY, MAY 25, 1 P.M.
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Larchmont Hall, 118 N. Larchmont Blvd.
Entertainment: Waldemar Hille, Composer-Pianist; Floretta Taylor, Soprano. Refreshments: Coffee, Dessert. Donations. Auspices: L.A. Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, Rm. 318, 32 West 3 St., Los Angeles 13. MA 5-2169.

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HELEN ALFRED, editor of the book will speak and autograph copies

- - - - -

Monday, May 19th
6:15—"Science, Education, Culture"
Second in "Soviet Union Today"
JOSEPH NORTH
8:15—"Sean O'Casey"
Second in "Political Playwrights"
ANNETTE T. RUBINSTEIN

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Tuesday, May 20th
6:15—"Constitution & Bill of Rights"
Second in "U.S. History—Part I"
HERBET APTHEKER
8:15—"The Farmer's Movement"
Second in "U.S. History-Part II"
HERBET APTHEKER

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Wednesday, May 21st
6:15—"The Labor Movement in N.Y."
Second in "New York: An Analysis"
LOUIS WEINSTOCK
8:15—"Democracy & Socialism"
Second in "The Path to Socialism"
HERBERT APTHEKER

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Thursday, May 22nd
6:15—"Jack London"
Second in "Four Against Oppression"
PHILIP S. FONER
8:15—"The Forgotten Village" (Steinbeck)
Second in "Four Great Social Films"
HAROLD COLLINS

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Sunday, May 25th, 8:30 p.m.
"No Men Are Strangers"
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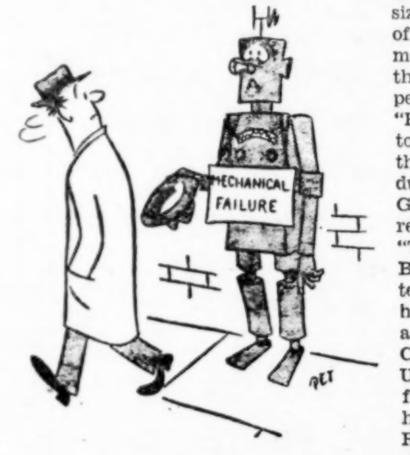
THE GALLERY

LATEST VICTIM OF THE COLD WAR is a giant panda which has been refused entry to the U.S. because it is a resident of China. The decision to bar the clown of the animal world was made by the State Dept. under its ban on trade with China despite pleas of leading zoos which point out that there is now no giant panda in this country. "The Bronx Zoo, though not optimistic, is clinging to a hope that the State Dept. may concede that the admission would not be a victory for international communism," the N.Y. **Times** reports. . . . The U.S. Navy found itself helpless recently against an onslaught of a group of Brisbane, Australia, university students. The U.S. destroyer Radforth, in berth at Brisbane for Coral Sea Week, found the words "BAN THE BOMB CCCP" ("CCCP" are the Russian initials for Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) painted on its hull. Officers sprang into action and mobilized the crew to wash it off. Later a group of students bombarded the ship's deck with flour bombs. "Ship's officers reported 'no casualties' but they posted armed sentries on the destroyer's forecastle," the Brisbane **Courier-Mail** reports. The American sailors who were on watch when the pranks occurred may be courtmartialed, according to the Brisbane **Telegraph.**



London Daily Mirror

THE SMIRNOFF CO. reports that sales of its vodka have jumped from 100,000 bottles in 1946 to 24,000,000 in 1956, due largely to its advertising campaigns. Milton Goodman, head of the agency handling the Smirnoff account, reports that the main problem it had to overcome in its advertising was "the Communist association. We considered emphasizing that it was the drink of the czars, but we decided most people shudder when they think of what happened to the last czar." . . . "Playhouse 90" was unable to include any females in the cast of its recent production of "Nightmare at Ground Zero." Casting Director Ethel Winant states: "This story takes place on Bikini during the H-bomb tests in 1954, and it's pretty hard to work a woman into a setting like that." . . . Colette Blackmoore of the United Press reports the following conversation she had with a waitress in a Russian ice cream parlor who thinks **Amerika** magazine, distributed in the Soviet Union, has a very low intellectual level " 'The paper is glossy, the pictures are pretty, but the text is not interesting,' she says. You venture that perhaps it is because the magazine is written for the average reader and not for the intellectual. 'If so he must be awfully average . . . even primitive,' she retorts."

OPPOSITION TO NUCLEAR TESTS has been growing on a number of college and high school campuses across the country. At the University of California at Berkeley a Campus Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy has been organized. It has placed a page-and-a-half ad in the **Daily Californian** which lists, in addition to the national sponsors of the Sane Committee, 400 students and faculty members as local sponsors. Students at the University of Chicago have also organized a Student Sane Nuclear Policy Committee and the Chicago **Maroon's** "Gadfly" column was devoted recently to an outspoken attack on nuclear testing and the arms race. The editors preface the column with the statement that issues like these "call for a rallied and united student opinion." In New York the Sane Nuclear Student Committee held an all-day conference at Columbia University on May 10. The Committee lists as sponsors professors from all the major New York colleges and has participants on both college and high school campuses in the city. . . . Officials of an exclusive school for girls in Hastings, England, are protesting the construction of a factory next to its grounds. School officials point to the arrival "of hordes of virile young bachelors" as a threat to the students' morals.

—Tim Wohlforth

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Culture deflowered

LONDON

ON A RECENT VISIT to Europe Walter Lippmann wrote that even he, with his closely-maintained contacts, had not realized how out of touch Washington had become with the rest of the world. His particular reference was to the nuclear rearming of Germany, which scares the daylights out of virtually all Europeans although Washington acts as if they were hailing it as a masterpiece of statesmanship. As a passionate advocate of seeing things as they really are, Lippmann was saddened by his government's growing habit of believing its own lies.

Another aspect of this pathetic, politically ruinous self-deception is manifested in the **Saturday Evening Post's** recent three-part sneer at Charlie Chaplin. This magazine is one of the four or five which circulate around the world with State Dept. aid and, for better or worse, are seen as a reflection of the U.S.A.

Europeans are critical of many, and warm admirers of some, American cultural products. Around the top of the admired list they would place Chaplin, Robeson, and—in the realm of science—Robert Oppenheimer. Yet they find it is precisely upon these men that America, as or if represented by its sleek-slick publications and most vocal officials and legislators, has chosen to expectorate in full view of mankind. Inhabitants of less air-conditioned and steak-rich continents can only conclude that America thinks this performance enhances what was known as its prestige.

THIS "AMERICA'S" HEAD seems too fat to grasp that most people will settle for a genius any time, without requiring his private life to be modeled on Little Lord Fauntleroy's; and that any country which can produce one—let alone three at a time—has something to be proud of.

The average set of hackles is not really raised—whether it be true, half-true or an invention—by the genius's phobia for income tax authorities or dogs or children or flowers in the house or rifle ranges, his "mythomania" or "communism" or fiscal disputes with lady secretaries. Most people admire Chaplin the more for his uncompromising counter-blasts at the witch-hunt, but if he had ignored it they would not admire him the less as an artist. One could easily tear apart the SEP articles and show that Chaplin loves his children; that as a self-proclaimed "peacemonger" he has objected from the outset (see my interview with him, GUARDIAN, 11/14/55) to the rifle range beside his Swiss home, through which one can hardly move for flowers; and that he rejects the U.S. tax demand because he doesn't owe anything.

But such rebuttals would have no more effect on the world's feeling about him than admitting the element of truth in the stuff about secretaries and dogs (no connection intended). The SEP seems dimly to perceive this by confessing, at the end of its spiteful and tedious goulash, that Chaplin is "a true genius"—like Goethe who, it wants us to remember, was at the same time "a swine with women."

CHAPLIN IS RECEIVING a flood of letters from Americans dissociating themselves from the SEP, and Lord Beaverbrook—who has for years bored Britain with his personal vendetta against Chaplin—has picked up the SEP series for his **Daily Express.**

Thus we are reminded that contempt for genius is no more an American monopoly than respect for it is a European one. But in view of the SEP's subsidized world-wide circulation, it becomes ever harder to convince the outside world that disowning and defiling what is best, and bragging about what is worst, in its own culture is not part of the American way of life.

While continuing to deplete America's once-brimming "reservoir of good-will," this official or semi-official expectoration has the effect of adding to the stature of those expectorated upon. This has been abundantly shown with regard to Robeson and Oppenheimer.

OBSCURE PEOPLE of every class go out of their way to proclaim their sympathy—even if it is nothing more—for the great Americans America persecutes. Atomic physicists are not normally hero-worshipped, especially when known as "father of the A-bomb"; but when Robert Oppenheimer came to Paris last month he was followed around as if he were Jayne Mansfield. His fate at the hands of the American Inquisition was comparatively mild, but the people wanted him to know that they objected to any such barbarities toward a great product of human civilization.

Oppenheimer, while confirming the technical possibility of nuclear disarmament and test-control and expressing skepticism about "clean H-bombs," had only a "no comment" for press questions about his own Gethsemane. This ultra-tactfulness caused some to remark that he "had not remained a free spirit," but it did not affect the general show of admiration for his genius.

Of course the persecution of geniuses for their real or imaginary frailties is nothing new in history; but there had been a rumor going around that America was cooling off and wising up. Over here, both belief in one's own lies and fouling of one's nest are regarded as rather infantile habits.

—**Cedric Belfrage**